

gaming as a tool for reservation and community development.”<sup>83</sup> The letter also took issue with several specific points made by the applicant tribes in a letter they had sent to Secretary Babbitt on Dec. 24, 1993. The letter contained no economic analysis or market impact data to show how, or to what extent, the surrounding tribes would be harmed. Reflecting the political awareness inherent to its strategy, MIGA sent copies of the letter to more than 30 individuals and entities, including the governors of Wisconsin and Minnesota, members of both states’ congressional delegations, and newspapers in Milwaukee, Green Bay, St. Paul and Minneapolis.

Many of these same points were further emphasized in a meeting that same day – Jan. 10, 1994 – between IGMS Director Hilda Manuel and Mille Lacs Band Chairwoman Marge Anderson and other representatives of the tribe, along with their Washington lobbyist, Gerry Sikorski. According to Anderson’s memorandum summarizing the meeting, tribal representatives asserted that a casino in Hudson might push Minnesota lawmakers “over the edge” because “as a consortium we have promised the State that there would be no further new casino developments.”<sup>84</sup> Indeed, the Mille Lacs described this as “our biggest fear” – that a new major casino in the Minneapolis metropolitan area “could be the death” of Indian gaming in Minnesota.<sup>85</sup> Anderson stated that the Hudson application raised a basic issue of “fairness” for the Minnesota tribes, since many Minnesota tribes are more remotely located than the applicant

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<sup>83</sup>To support these assurances, MIGA wrote that its tribes had not sought off-reservation gaming in Minnesota, and they believed that the Wisconsin tribes should be similarly bound: “We have not closed the door on off-reservation gaming in Minnesota only to have other tribes in Wisconsin jeopardize all we have fought to maintain.”

<sup>84</sup>Memorandum from Marge Anderson to Member Tribes, MIGA, undated.

<sup>85</sup>Talking Points for Mtg. with Hilda Manuel, undated.